## Message Text

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**ACTION AF-18** 

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 SCS-03 CIAE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 SAM-01 MC-02 ACDA-19 IO-14 CU-04

SCCT-02 AID-20 CCO-00 FBO-01 NIC-01 OC-06 OPR-02

USSS-00 SCA-01 A-01 OMB-01 SY-10 NEA-10 OS-03 DRC-01

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O R 280906Z FEB 74
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7804
INFO AMCONSUL ASMARA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PINT PGOV

SUBJ: ETHIOPIA AT THE CROSSROADS

REF: ADDIS 2210

- 1. AS WE CONTEMPLATE THE NATIONAL POLITICAL SECENE FOLLOWING THE RESIGNATION OF THE AKILU GOVERNMENT, WE ARE STRUCK BY THE APPARENT DISARRAY AT THE APEX OF NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT.
- 2. THE EMPEROR, OF COURSE, REMAINS (ALTHOUGH THE ABSENCE OF THE CROWN PRINCE AND THE OPEN QUESTION OF HIS CAPACITIES EVIDENTLY PLACE A PARTICULAR PREMIUM UPON THE MONARCH'S CONTINUING PHYSICAL AND MENTAL VIABILITY AT PRESENT), AND WE HAVE NO RPT NO INDICATION THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAS OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PEOPLE, MUCH OF THE ELITE AS WELL AS THE DISSIDENTS THEMSELVES,

WISH TO ABANDON THE MONARCHICAL INSTITUTION AND "THE SYMBOLS OF THE EMPIRE." WE JUDGE THAT THE PERSON OF THE EIGHTY-ONE-YEAR OLD EMPEROR CONTINUES TO ENJOY WIDERSPEAD RESPECT, NOTWITH-

STANDING THE CRITISISMS VOICED ABOUT HIM FROM TIME TO TIME, OF WHICH THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE.

- 3. THE AUTHORITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND OF THE CABINET, HAVING BEEN NOTABLE FOR THEIR ABSENCE THROUGHOUT THE CRISIS WHICH, IN RETROSPECT, MAY BE SAID TO HAVE ENTERED ITS ACTIVE PHASE WITH THE NEGELLE MUTINY, HAVE NOW TERMINATED IN THE FALL OF THE GOVERNMENT. THIS LEAVES AVOID WHICH OTHER MEN OR INSTITUTIONS WILL HAVE TO FILL. THE ARMED FORCES ARE, AT THIS WRITING, A WEAK REED FOR THE EMPEROR TO LEAN UPON. MOREOVER, NEITHER THE DISSIDENTS NOR THE REST ARE YET ORGANIZATIONALLY UNIFIED, A FACT WHICH, IN CURRENT CIRCUMSTANTCES, MAY YET FURTHER COMPLICATE THE PROBLEM. THEIR LEADERSHIP HAS ALSO FAILED AT THE NATIONAL COMMAND LEVEL. THE CROWN COUNCIL IS HEADED BY A MAN WITH HIS OWN POTENTIAL CLAIM TO THE THRONE. RAS ASRATE KASSA, MOREOVER, IS WIDELY VIEWED AS A CONSERVATIVE OF THE OLD SCHOOL AND, IN THAT SENSE, REPRESENTS THE CONTINUATION OF A LEADERSHIP WHICH THE YOUNG MODERNITSTS HAVE LONG WISHED TO ALTER. PARLIAMENT IS A STILL NASCENT INSTI-TUTION. THE EDUCATIONAL MEDIAM OF ITS MEMBERS IS LESS THAN 8TH GRADE.
- 4. FORTUNATELY, IN A SENSE, MOST ETHIOPIANS ARE RULED NOT BY GOVERNMENT BUT BY RELIGION, FAMILY, TRIBAL OBLIGATIONS AND TRADITION. PROVIDING THE NATIONAL CENTER REMAINS VIABLE AND NOTHING EXACERBRATE ALWAYS LATENT PROVINCIAL AND REGIIONAL CENTRIFUGAL FORCES, THE COUNTRYSIDE MAY WELL CONTINUE LITTLE AFFECTED BY THE VOID WHICH HAS NOW OPENED BETWEEN THE MONARCH AND THE ADIMINISTRATIVE LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT.
- 5. HOWEVER, THIS VACUUM OF LEADERSHIP CANNOT LONG REMAIN. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE EMPEROR'S YEARS HAVE LEFT HIS SENSE OF TIMING AND HIS POLITICAL ACUITY UP TO THE TASK WHICH NOW CONFRONTS HIM. FOR, IF HE DOES NOT OR CANNOT MOVE TO PUT IN PLACE NEW MEN OF TRUST AND LOYALTY WHO MAY ENJOY SUFFICIENT SUPPORT IN KEY QUARTERS, HE RISKS ATTEMPTS BY THOSE CONFIDENTIAL

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WHO, IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS, ARE FEELING ENCOURAGED TO HASTEN THE MODERNIZATION AND REDEFINE THE GOVERNANCE OF THE ETHIOPIAN STATE, TO PLACE THEIR OWN AT THE MODERN LEVERS OF POWER.

6. IN SHORT, THE CURTAIN IS ABOUT TO RISE ON THE POLITICAL PHASE OF THE CRISIS, AND WE MUST SEEK IN THE DAYS TO COME TO DISCERN THE PLAYERS AND THE POLICIEES THAT MAY BE ABOUT TO MAKE

## THEIR ENTRANCE UPON THE ETHIOPIAN STAGE.

7. IT IS TOO EARLY TO ASSESS THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE US OF THE EVENTS NOW IN COURSE HERE. OUR PRIMARY TASK IN THE DAYS AHEAD MUST OBVIOUSLY BE TO ENHANCE THE SECURITY OF ETHIOPIA'S AMERICAN RESIDENTS, THEIR PROPERTY AND INTERESTS TO THE DEGREE POSSIBLE. WE SHALL ALSO HAVE TO MEASURE OUR ACTIONS SO AS TO STRIKE AN APPROPRIATE BALANCE BETWEEN THE REQUIREMENTS OF ESSENTIAL CONTINUING TRANSACTIONS WITH THE ETHIOPIAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE NEED TO AVOID (TO THE DEGREE POSSIBLE) ANY MISREADING OF OUR POSTURE AS UNDUE INTERFERENCE IN ETHIOPIA'S DOMESTIC POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

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